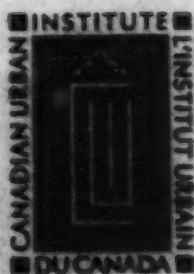


CANADIAN URBAN INSTITUTE

Metro in Transition:

**An Overview of Demographic, Economic and Public Policy
Trends and their Implications for the Social Development
Strategy of Metropolitan Toronto**



Urban Focus Series

90-10

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Trends and their Implications for the Social Development
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90-10 Metro in Transition

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1

Introduction

What challenges lie ahead for the social development of Metropolitan Toronto? Metropolitan Toronto is in transition, facing major demographic and economic changes. The social policies of all levels of government will be pressured to respond to the resulting needs and expectations of the community, while, indeed, they also help to shape these changes.

This report, commissioned by the Community Services Department of Metropolitan Toronto, provides an overview of anticipated economic, demographic and policy trends over the next decade and their implications for Metropolitan Toronto's emerging social development strategy.

1.1 Background

In May, 1988, the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto (SPC) and Healthy Communities Metro, an ad hoc organization of human service professionals, made a joint submission to the Economic Development and Planning Committee regarding a proposed economic development strategy for Metropolitan Toronto. The submission urged the formulation of a similar strategy for Metropolitan Toronto's social development, a matter that was referred to the Community Services and Housing Committee.

Ongoing Policy Reviews

This submission coincided with three related policy initiatives: the Metropolitan Toronto Official Plan Review, the report of the Provincial Social Assistance Review Committee (SARC) and the Provincial-Municipal Social Services Review (PMSSR). The Community Services and Housing Committee interpreted these developments as a convergence of opinion regarding the need for a comprehensive and integrated strategy for economic and social development. Such a strategy was viewed as instrumental in:

- facilitating the co-ordination, integration and rationalization of social programs;
- outlining a broad vision for the development, funding and delivery of social programs;

-
- encouraging consistency in social programs and links where appropriate, with economic development, housing, and transportation policy; and,
 - supporting program negotiations with other levels of government by demonstrating Metropolitan Toronto's commitment to a healthy social environment.

Subsequently, the Committee requested the Community Services Department to develop a proposal and process leading to the formulation of a social development plan by 1991, and to report back to both the Economic Development and Planning Committee and the Community Services and Housing Committee.

1.2 Background Studies

To facilitate preparation of a social development strategy, the Community Services Department commissioned four studies: new mechanisms for delivering social services; community and race relations; the social implications of a sustainable city; and strategies for making the community better for disadvantaged households.

1.3 Study Objectives

This report summarizes the findings of a fifth commissioned study, conducted by the Canadian Urban Institute, which had the following objectives:

- *to identify economic, demographic, and federal and provincial government policy trends; and*
- *to explore their implications for the Metropolitan Toronto social development strategy, focusing on changing needs of the community.*

The demographic and economic trends reported here are not unalterable: they are themselves influenced by public policy. Indeed, the report assumes that an understanding of existing trends can help to formulate public policy to respond, and in turn, shape the future. In this light, the report discusses federal and provincial government policy trends that bear upon social development issues. As well, changing public perceptions about the role of government in social policy are discussed. Key challenges for the Metropolitan Toronto social development strategy then are set out.

1.4 Time Frame

In preparation for the new millennium, the report looks to the end of the decade, the year 2000. Brief historical contexts for each trend are

also provided, in particular for the discussion of policy directions.

1.5 Scope and Limitations

This study was not intended to generate original research, identify multiple future scenarios, assess existing social problems or provide policy options. These are all worthwhile endeavours which require a research effort far beyond the limited budget and time constraints of this exercise. Rather, this study is intended as an overview of anticipated trends, selected on the basis of their relevance to social policy, and their social development implications for Metropolitan Toronto. The trends reported here are derived from government documents, social policy literature, and the views of selected public policy and social service experts. The implications discussed in this report focus on areas where the population and their needs and expectations may change, and the corresponding challenge for social policy.

Systematic investigation would be useful on how various trends may affect individual groups, municipalities and social service organizations, and options for how the Metropolitan Toronto government might respond.

1.6 Study Approach

This report synthesizes information collected from the following sources:

- a review of approximately 150 documents, focusing on recent municipal and provincial publications on trends and policy;
- telephone and face-to-face interviews with approximately 40 senior government policy makers, social service agency personnel, and social policy experts;
- four small focus groups.

These activities were carried out between July 19, 1990 and August 31, 1990.

1.7 Social Development: Definitions and Assumptions

To guide the collection and synthesis of information a number of assumptions were made with respect to social development. These are presented below.

Definition of Social Development

Social development is viewed in this study as the extent to which individuals and groups have *sufficient, secure and equitable access to*

community supports and resources that facilitate the ability to live independent, productive and meaningful lives.

*Community
Supports and
Resources*

Community supports and resources are assumed to include:

- **biological and physical** (e.g., food, shelter, healthy environment, safety, emergency and medical services);
- **social and cultural** (e.g., family and social networks, opportunities for self-expression and learning, access to entertainment and recreational and cultural amenities);
- **economic** (e.g., access to income and wealth, opportunity to contribute to the development of the community through work);
- **empowerment** (e.g., freedom and opportunity to influence and participate in the decision-making of institutions which affect daily life).

*Mechanisms of
Access*

A number of mechanisms influence the adequacy, security and equity of access by groups and individuals to resources. These are presented below along with examples of affected groups.

- **language, education and skills** (e.g., those who do not speak English or who are illiterate);
- **culture and social networks** (e.g., new immigrants);
- **physical and mental health capacities and impairments, including temporary limitations** (e.g., those with various mental or physical disabilities, serious health problems or suffering acute stress);
- **physical and temporal proximity** (e.g., those who, by virtue of distance, lack of transportation or time constraints have poor access to needed services);
- **legal rights and eligibility for government and voluntary sector assistance** (e.g., citizenship, family status, and age bear upon access to certain forms of employment and income assistance);
- **discrimination on the basis of status** (e.g., those

discriminated against directly or systemically on the basis of race, gender, ethnicity, religion, disability, sexual orientation, etc.);

- **dependence** (e.g., children living in poverty, women who have been assaulted, those who are physically, financially, legally or emotionally dependent on individuals or institutions).

These mechanisms act individually and in combination. For example, those with little access to income, or who are discriminated against, such as women or racial minorities, more frequently suffer access to a wide range of important community supports and resources.

1.8 Social Development Strategy

We assume that a social development strategy achieves its objectives through establishing goals, policies, and programs that:

- provide income or services to those with inadequate, insecure or inequitable access to basic resources;
- alter the mechanisms that distribute resources, e.g., through legislation restricting discrimination, education and retraining; location of public facilities, facilitation of community organizations.

These assumptions reflect traditional Canadian values towards social welfare and assistance. How these values are changing, especially regarding the responsibilities of various institutions, is presented in more detail in the section on public policy trends.

1.9 Report Structure

The report is organized as follows.

Section 2 (Population and Demographics) and Section 3 (Economics and Technology) summarize major trends, followed by a synthesis of their implications for social policy. The focus is on how the adequacy, security, and equity of access to resources is likely to change over the next decade, particularly for disadvantaged groups.

Section 4 reviews federal and provincial policy trends in the context of social policy. The focus is on policies aimed at social assistance, and at economic and human resource development. Background perspectives and emerging directions are provided in order to set out a jurisdictional, political, fiscal and programmatic

context for the formulation of the Metropolitan Toronto social development strategy.

Section 5 outlines the Metropolitan Toronto policy and planning context to which the social development strategy must relate. It also focuses on changing community perceptions as they bear on Metro social development issues.

Section 6 summarizes the major trends, implications and policy directions, and highlights their challenge for a Metropolitan Toronto social development strategy.

Appendix A offers some early thoughts on the implications to the Metropolitan Toronto social assistance development strategy of the election of a New Democratic Party majority government of Ontario on September 6.

Appendix B indicates individuals consulted for this project.

Appendix C indicates the government, academic and professional literature reviewed for this study.

2

Population and Demographic Trends and their Implications

2.1 Introduction *Nothing could be more important to the Metropolitan Toronto social development strategy than an understanding of the population who lives here and how they are changing. Based on Metropolitan Toronto Planning Department population projections and Canadian and Ontario studies, population growth trends are discussed, followed by a discussion of trends in the composition of the population.*

2.2 Population Growth *Population growth is affected by a number of trends that have far-reaching implications for social development.*

Decline in the Fertility Rate *The most striking change in Canada's population over the last ten years has been the drop in the fertility rate. After the post-World War II high-fertility baby boom era, the fertility rate has steadily decreased, and, is now below the replacement level. If Metropolitan Toronto were *not* to receive a net in-flow of migration, its population would stabilize and then begin to decline around the year 2015.*

Migration from the Rest of Canada Excluding Ontario *Historically, Metropolitan Toronto has received a steady net flow of migration from other parts of Canada (with some minor exceptions such as during the western oil boom of the early 1970s when many Torontonians left for Alberta). Over the next decade, net migration from the rest of Canada is projected at relatively modest levels, on the order of 5,000-7,000 persons per year.*

Indeed, migration from the rest of Canada could shrink further given the low rate of natural population growth also occurring in other parts of Canada. Much of the adult population of Canada will soon be in their 40s, many of them in double income households, with children in school, and settled into their communities. Mobility will be lower than in the last decade when a much higher proportion of the population consisted of young adults, easily able to relocate. High Metro housing prices, relative to other parts of the country, also will continue to serve as a major impediment to those who otherwise might wish to locate in Toronto.

It is conceivable, however, that a second wave of anglophones and other non-francophones might migrate from Quebec, should they

perceive declining economic and political opportunities. A reduction of federal regional development support programs also might result in more migrants to Toronto from economically disadvantaged regions in search of jobs. On the other hand, an increase in oil prices would spark again some migration from Ontario and other parts of eastern Canada to the west.

*Migration to
Greater Toronto
Area and Ontario*

In contrast to its historical role as a net receiver of other Canadians, Metropolitan Toronto has experienced over the past decade a substantial net outflow of population to the rest of Ontario. Most of those leaving Metropolitan Toronto have been young families and adults pursuing jobs, less expensive housing and fewer urban stresses in the four surrounding regions - Durham, Peel, York and Halton.

*International
Immigration*

Compensating for the loss of population to the neighbouring regions has been a large, annual inflow of immigrants and refugees. Throughout the 1980s Canada's immigration has averaged approximately 140,000 persons per year, with Metropolitan Toronto receiving approximately 30 percent of this total.

Since World War II, the sources of immigration to Canada have shifted steadily from Europe and other industrialized countries to other parts of the world. Of the 154,000 immigrants received by Metropolitan Toronto since 1986, approximately 75 percent were from Asia, the Caribbean, Latin America and Africa. Significant numbers also have emigrated from Poland and Portugal.

Although the percentage of immigrants who do not speak one of the official languages has declined, it is estimated that at least 40 percent of immigrants do not have a functional command of English. The rate is particularly high among those whose mother language is Chinese, Vietnamese, Punjabi, Spanish or Portuguese.

Language difficulties, of course, compound other settlement, housing, and cultural adjustments, including, for many adapting to being a racial minority in a new country.

Many immigrants possess skills and accreditation which frequently do not receive commensurate recognition in Canada.

Some of the older immigrant communities have established community and support services, but few exist for many of the newer and smaller groups such as Ethiopians, Somalis, Afghans, Romanians,

Sri Lankans, Guyanese, Iranians and Eritreans.

Most forecasts assume the general patterns of the last few years will continue, with minor increases. However, many experts see increasing international immigration and refugee demands, driven by political upheaval and increasingly ecologically-based catastrophes as in parts of sub-Saharan Africa.

*Pressures for
Higher Levels of
Immigration*

Canada is likely to continue to be one of the world's most attractive countries for immigrants and refugees. This is due to its relative wealth, stability, political freedom and level of social services, and to the prevalence of English (the most popular second language in the world).

In addition to external forces, pressures to substantially raise immigration rates will come from recent immigrants who wish to reunite with their families. A number of policy makers also believe that there will be strong economic pressures to fill projected entry level vacancies and skilled trades shortages, and also to ensure a stable or growing population. If Canada, for example, wishes to stabilize its population at 30 million, it will need an annual immigration rate of 250,000 or more, or approximately double that of recent experience. This could easily mean another 60,000-80,000 immigrants per year to Metro, as compared with rates during the mid-1980s of approximately 30,000 per year and during the last two or three years of approximately 50,000 per year.

**2.3 Population
Composition**

Over the past three decades, Metropolitan Toronto has developed into one of the world's most diversified communities. Nearly 40 percent of today's population was born in Europe, Asia, the Caribbean, or a country other than Canada. In 1961, 1 out of 20 Metro residents was not of European origin; now 4 out of 20 residents have a non-European origin.

By the year 2001, racial minorities will grow from about 20 percent to 30 percent of the population of Metropolitan Toronto. Some of this growth will come from a higher rate of population growth in the racial minority population, which tend to have larger families and generally is younger -- and therefore projected to have relatively more births and fewer deaths. Most of the growth, however, will come from immigration and refugees, the bulk which is now non-European and non-white.

Baby-boom Echo

Most of the projected natural population growth over the next 10 years, albeit small, will arise from what has been called the baby-boom echo.

The large numbers of women of child-bearing age in combination with the low fertility rate, will result in a modest increase in births over the first part of the decade, with declining numbers in the later half. The result will be a decrease in the active numbers of pre-school children, and a drop in their share of population from 7.2 percent to 5.3 percent. There also will be a modest increase in children and youth from ages 5-19, who will increase their share of the population from 16.6 percent to 19.2 percent.

Although the number of children will increase over the next decade, they will have fewer brothers and sisters. The major reason is that women are deferring the age at which their first child is born. This has shortened the number of child-bearing years. Further, after childbirth, women have returned to work more frequently and after a shorter period of time than women in the 1960s and 1970s. These trends are expected to continue throughout the 1990s.

Decline in Young Adult Population

Since the mid-1980s the number of young adults, persons aged 20-34, has declined. This trend will be even more marked over the 1990s where the proportion of the Metropolitan Toronto population represented by young adults is expected to drop from 26.6 percent to 17.9 percent, and in absolute numbers, decline from approximately 615,000 today to 440,000 in the year 2001.

Average Age of Population is increasing

In contrast to the decline in numbers of young adults, the population of older adults will increase dramatically over the decade. The 'greying' of the population is due to lower fertility rates, a bulge of aging baby-boomers, and increasing life expectancies.

Greatest increase Among 35-64 year Olds

The greatest absolute growth in the population will take place among those who are 35-64, a group traditionally pre-occupied with family and career. This group is expected to grow from 37 percent of the population today to 43.6 percent in the year 2001, an increase in numbers from 857,000 to 1,074,000.

Growth in the Elderly

Over the last decade, the proportion of the population over 65 has begun to steadily increase so that it constitutes 12.6 percent of today's population. Over the next decade this group is expected to increase its

share to 14 percent. The fastest growth is expected to take place in the group aged 75 years or more.

*Health Care
Advances*

Over the next ten years, recombinant DNA technology will help diagnose, treat and possibly prevent many diseases, such as AIDS, that to date have resisted more traditional medical approaches. Emerging rehabilitative and specialized emergency, burn, and trauma treatment services will assist many others to live and recover functions, especially those who suffer paralyzing car accidents. Medical advances also are extending the lives of many people, mostly elderly, who have cancer, cardio-vascular, and other diseases.

*Varied Household
Structure*

Over the past decades, the traditional image of the household - two married parents, father working, wife at home taking care of two or more children - has dramatically changed. Less than 15 percent of households now fit this pattern, and even fewer will in the future.

Now, over half of all women with pre-school children work outside the home, and even greater percentages are expected to do so in the future. Due to the rapid increase in divorces and separation, and to increasing proportions of single women choosing to raise children, single parent families - headed mainly by women - have grown to now account for 12 percent of all households. As most separated and divorced adults with children find another partner, there has been a large increase in the number of households containing children of different partners, referred to as 'blended' families. More children also are being born into common-law situations, which now account for approximately 5 percent of all households. These trends are expected to continue, aided by laws that make divorce easier and award more rights to members of common law relationships.

More men are taking an active role in parenting, with growing numbers, although still small, staying at home to raise the children.

High housing costs also have induced many unrelated individuals, especially young people, and a growing number of seniors, to share residences.

As the population ages, more households will be composed of older 'empty-nester' parents whose children live on their own.

The number of persons living on their own also will increase,

primarily because of greater numbers of elderly individuals, mainly women, whose spouse has died.

The range of household structures seen today is likely to diversify even further over the decade ahead, with a steady decrease in the average persons per household from 3.8 in 1961 to 2.6 in 1981 and to 2.4 in 2001.

2.4 Implications of Demography

The projected changes in the composition of Metropolitan Toronto's population will bring many implications for social policy.

Growing Diversity of the Population

The growing diversity of Metropolitan Toronto will increase demands on government and social service agencies to provide linguistically, culturally and racially sensitive services to a wide range of ethnic, cultural and racial groups. Strong leadership will be expected from municipal government to help develop a non-racist, tolerant, co-operative community in which all groups can fully participate.

A special challenge exists to integrate newcomers, increasingly coming from countries very different from Canada. Full participation in Canadian society will continue to be difficult for the significant numbers of this population who have problems in communicating, due to language and cultural barriers. Those unable to take advantage of the work place or school to learn English, typically women, will suffer the greatest isolation. Indeed, many women who immigrated 10-15 years ago, and do not speak English, are reaching the age where they need substantial health and social support services. It is unrealistic to expect many of them to learn English, and therefore health and other institutions servicing these groups may need to broaden their multilingual and multicultural capacities.

Integration of Refugees

Integrating refugees and claimants will make especially strong demands on Metro's community services. Refugees, while adapting to this country, also must deal with the personal stresses arising from the upheavals in their home country (that drove them to leave), the frequent forced separation from other family members, and the uncertainty and extended waiting while their claims are being processed. Limitations on work eligibility during claims processing further exacerbate their problems, and reinforce dependence on social assistance, such as welfare for which they make up a disproportionate number of the clientele. Multilingual skills in these agencies are limited, especially in relation to the variety of languages spoken by

refugees.

If Metropolitan Toronto is to integrate successfully the projected increase in immigrants and refugees, further income assistance, English language training, housing, education, health, employment, family and individual counselling, daycare, and other community services will be required. Job training will be important, and more emphasis will need to be placed on recognizing and building on skills acquired in the country of origin. Since many of the immigrant groups continue to locate in distinct neighbourhoods, the potential exists to organize services around neighbourhood facilities and existing community support networks.

If housing, employment opportunities, and community services, are not available, rising immigration levels may exacerbate unemployment, housing prices and social tensions between immigrants and the established community.

*Coordination with
Federal
Immigration Policy*

Metropolitan Toronto is more affected by federal immigration policy than any other region of the country. It may wish to synchronize better its preparations for immigrant and refugee populations with federal plans and negotiate for more federal and provincial assistance.

Needs of Children

The next decade will see many changes in the lives of children and teenagers. More children than ever before - perhaps as many as 50 percent - will experience two traumas before they reach adulthood - that of a family break-up and that of the difficult adjustments of participating in a new blended family. More children will experience the stresses of being in a low-income, single-parent family, typically headed by a woman, who has to handle the pressures normally handled by two adults. A growing proportion of children also will experience the daily stresses of both parents working, and fewer siblings with whom to play and share their experience. Due to these increases in family stresses, and a growing awareness of and willingness to report and act on situations of child abuse, the growth over the last ten years in severe and often compounded cases identified by Children's Agencies, may continue to escalate.

Further growth can be expected in the need for daycare, after-school care, quality family counselling, specialized assistance for developmentally disadvantaged children, and income support for single-parent households. There appears to be a growing interest in

schools functioning as multi-purpose centres for these and other children's services.

*Less Young
Entrants into the
Labour Force*

In contrast to growth in the actual numbers of most age groups, the numbers of those between the ages of 20-34 will decline. Accompanying this will be a reduction of entry and intermediate level workers. Because of the younger age distribution of racial minorities, especially the aboriginal population, these groups will constitute larger percentages of youth than of the general population.

*Costs of an Aging
Population*

While adapting to the decline in the number of youth, society will need to cope with the 'greying' of the population, and the implications for public expenditures and health and social supports.

As the current fifty year olds age, they will shift from being sources of income tax revenues to becoming recipients of federal pension and other income support payments. The rising social security insurance burden on taxpayers will further constrain the federal government's options to raise taxes to pay for other income and social support programs.

Of special concern will be the growing numbers of elderly over 75 years of age many of whom are likely to have serious health problems, disabilities or cognitive impairments such as Alzheimer. Long-term care, hospital and general health care costs are expected to soar. The projected costs are already stimulating provincial efforts to streamline and improve the efficiency of health services, but may also reduce the funds perceived to be available for other societal needs.

*Need for More
Social and
Community
Services*

Many of the elderly will have fewer family members to provide support than in past decades -- family size has decreased, labour mobility has dispersed families, and the importance of the extended family has declined. This will particularly affect single elderly women, whose numbers will grow, especially in the 75 and over group. More home support, specialized transportation and social and leisure services, along with care-giver relief, will be required.

The growth in the elderly population will bear directly upon those children and families who shoulder some responsibility or feel the anxiety of being unable to help directly due to living far away. As the children of the elderly themselves age, many of this 'sandwich' generation will experience high levels of stress trying to attend both to their elderly parents' needs, and to their own child-rearing

responsibilities. This burden appears more likely to fall on women, especially if they are at home. These groups may need their own support services including counselling.

*New Senior Citizen
Resources*

The increase in the numbers of senior citizens also has the potential to create new resources for society. With more portable pension and early retirement schemes, a shift to less physically demanding service sector jobs, potential shortages of entry level workers, a loosening of mandatory retirement policies, and the continued better health of the elderly, many in their 60s will wish and be able to continue working or make a voluntary contribution to society. This group represents a rich resource of experience, skills, and maturity for the rest of society. As this group grows in numbers, perhaps an 'Opportunities for the Elderly' Program may be considered.

*Support for
Individuals with
Disabilities*

Many of the elderly, trauma victims, and others kept alive by health care advances still will have serious health problems and disabilities, and will require substantial health and social services.

Recent progress in assistive devices for the disabled will continue, enabling many with impairments to participate more fully in society. Equipment to help the visually and hearing impaired use phones and computers will become more widely available; new prostheses will help many gain mobility; and electronic monitoring devices will assist many disabled and elderly to live independently with less fear. With growing pressures from human rights legislation, employers will be expected to heighten their current efforts to accommodate the disabled.

Social service organizations will be expected to provide specialized transportation, housing, work-related equipment and training, and attendant care. One can expect the greatest growth will be in providing support for young disabled people as they wish to leave home, become independent, and participate in the labour market.

3

Economic Trends and their Implications

3.1 Introduction

Changes in the economy will be a major determinant of the future adequacy, security, and equity with which different groups have access to employment and income.

Over the past decade, Canada and, in particular, Ontario have experienced one of the highest annual economic growth rates among industrialized countries. Metropolitan Toronto, as the financial heartland of Canada, has both enjoyed and helped generate this growth.

During the past three years, the growth rate has moderated. Canada and Ontario appear to be entering a recession, characterized by high interest and currency exchange rates, reduced exports and investment.

Recession Followed by Long- Term Moderate Economic Growth

Recent projections by the Province of Ontario, indeed, are for low growth for the next two or three years. However, its long-term forecast is that the economy will pick up and average a moderate annual growth rate of 2-3 percent over the whole decade, with only moderate levels of inflation. Naturally, a high degree of uncertainty must be associated with any forecast of a long-term nature. (Metropolitan Toronto and the City of Toronto are each currently examining long term prospects for the Toronto economy.)

Projected Lower Unemployment

Moderate or even low unemployment also is projected for Ontario, with potential shortages in skilled labour and entry jobs towards the end of the decade.

The unemployment projections for the 1990s reflect a growth rate in the labour force of 1.5 percent, compared to the last decade, when Canada experienced a growth rate of 2.5 percent, the highest in the industrialized world.

Compared to the 1980s, the projected rate is depressed by the low numbers of young adults available to enter the work force and the increasing rate of retirement. Counterbalancing this are new labour

force entrants from immigration and a continuing increase in female labour force participation. Although the *rate* of female participation will continue to rise, most growth will be due to longer *durations* of participation. This will arise from women in the labour force waiting longer until they have a child, having fewer children and taking less time off per child. Also part-time employment is increasingly available and being chosen as a preferable or economically necessary option over that of exclusive work in the home.

*Fiercely
Competitive World
Economy*

Although the picture over the entire decade appears positive, concern has been raised by many, including the Premier's Council on Technology, regarding Ontario's capacity to sustain even this moderate growth rate. The concern arises from the recognition that Canada, like all countries in the world, must now chart its economic future within a fiercely competitive and rapidly changing global economy, induced by:

- the decline in tariffs for trade in most international goods as negotiated through various rounds of GATT; the free trade agreement between Canada and the United States; the formation of one large, tariff-free European market by 1992; and the creation of several other smaller free-trading blocs;
- the continued dynamism, particularly in the manufacturing and financial sectors, of the Japanese and other Pacific Rim and newly industrialized economies;
- the growth of low-wage production facilities in South Asian, Latin American, and African countries;
- the increased power of multi-national corporations, which can rapidly switch their production sites and sourcing to regions that offer the best combination of cost, stability, and market access; and the increasing role of branch plants to assume global mandates for product lines, carefully targeted to specific consumer groups;
- lowered entry barriers to many industries due to new manufacturing technologies and management processes;
- potential new consumer markets and low-wage labour in the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and China.

3.2 Technological Innovation in the Workplace

Technological innovation also is intensifying competition through its contribution to ever-increasing automation and ever-improving products. At the heart of these changes is the microchip, which offers expanding possibilities for the collection, distribution, and use of information. New communication applications such as the facsimile machine, satellite transmission, video-conferencing, fibre-optics, and computer modem links and networks are improving on a regular basis. They make possible communication, information exchange, and the conducting of business interactions with almost any part of the world. New developments in biotechnology and environmental technology have vast economic potential and are attracting vigorous international competition in research, development, and marketing.

Challenge of Retaining Manufacturing Employment

Current projections are that Metro Toronto will add a few thousand manufacturing jobs over the next decade to its current base. Metropolitan Toronto, however, may have to work very hard to retain or improve this manufacturing employment base as there are many serious challenges to its future.

Some employment could be lost through automation. This has already occurred, as the manufacturing sector has increased its output while maintaining approximately the same number of employees over the past few years. The pace of automation required for Canadian industry to be competitive must accelerate, especially if Canada is to make up for its recent decline in manufacturing productivity compared to other countries.

Some employment also could be lost through layoffs or closures, or through the migration of firms to lower cost regions of the world. This could be exacerbated by Metropolitan Toronto firms moving existing or new operations to other parts of the Greater Toronto Area such as Markham and Mississauga, which have lower land costs but still possess critical masses of high technology firms and business services.

The recent free trade agreement with the United States will have the most impact on the Canadian economy. While creating new opportunities for Canadian firms, it will significantly accelerate the process by which Canadian industry must adapt to the competitive pressures from US producers. Discussion about the reduction of non-tariff barriers could lead to pressure on Canada to reduce or eliminate publicly funded health and other benefits that are seen to give Canadian firms a cost advantage.

If, as appears likely, Mexico and other Latin American countries become part of the Agreement or form separate free trade agreements with the United States, the double-edged sword of new markets and low-cost competitors will be created.

While large-scale migration of manufacturing to the United States does not appear to have taken place to date, Buffalo, the Niagara region of New York State, and Pennsylvania offer lower taxes, land, and labour costs, while still providing reasonable access to the Toronto market.

Ontario and Metropolitan Toronto also will be vulnerable to any disruptions in international trade, declines in the automotive sector, or increases in oil prices which might occur.

*Strength of Metro
Economy*

Concerns about Metropolitan Toronto's future industrial base must be balanced, however, by recognizing that the Ontario and Metro economies are highly diversified and have demonstrated steady growth over the past decade. Many international firms who wish to serve North American markets, and US and other Canadian firms who wish to serve north-eastern North America will be attracted to Toronto. Compared to many American cities, Toronto has skilled labour, is safe, contains a broad range of amenities for employees, and has good access to markets and suppliers. The Toronto community also has potentially excellent links with new markets in the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and China.

*Growth in the
Service Sector*

Like the rest of the industrialized world, the Metropolitan Toronto economy will continue to shift from a manufacturing to a service base. Indeed, over three-quarters of Metropolitan Toronto jobs already are in the service industry, and both the absolute number of service sector jobs, and its proportion of all jobs in the Metropolitan Toronto economy are projected to substantially increase over the next decade.

The Metropolitan Toronto planning department has forecast that Metro will have a labour force of 1,431,200 workers by the year 2001 (up from 1,231,564 in 1981).

Much of this growth is expected to take place in office functions for the financial, insurance, and real-estate sector, business management, information and health services and the food and beverages sector. Many of the services will directly assist manufacturers and business be more productive or market their goods.

Given the ready access to long distance information offered by modern communication and computer technologies, firms have new options for centralization and decentralization. Functions that previously required regional staff may be centralized, and head office functions can be separated more easily from line functions. A substantial portion of head office growth, especially executive and management functions, will remain downtown, while more routine records management and clerical functions will be decentralized to lower cost centres in Metro or outside.

Approximately 50 percent of total employment growth in Metro is projected to take place in small business, mostly firms of under 50 people. Much of this growth is expected to occur in new firms, many of which do not exist today, and a significant percentage of which will be started by women. Self-employment, which now accounts for 10 percent of all jobs, will continue to grow in importance.

Volatility Although growth, inflation, and unemployment may 'average' moderate levels, in aggregate, it is likely that there will be significant volatility at the individual firm level. As business adapts to international competition and the free trade agreement, more openings, expansions, closures, layoffs, mergers, and restructuring can be expected.

Although there have been predictions for years that computer technologies will result in more people working at home, this has not yet occurred to a significant extent. However, the continued growth in home and computer and facsimile use may strengthen this trend.

3.3 Implications of Economic Trends

The economic trends faced by the Ontario and Metropolitan Toronto economy will have significant social development implications.

The probable loss in *traditional* manufacturing jobs and slow growth of construction may diminish a relatively well-paying historical employment avenue for many young adults and immigrants.

The automation of jobs and industrial restructuring will displace many blue-collar workers. Most of the new jobs created in manufacturing will be in high-technology industries, and require new skills. Blue-collar workers in sectors that are unable to face international competition, or that move outside the Toronto CMA will be most vulnerable. Such workers may find it difficult to obtain jobs that utilize their skills at comparable incomes. Studies of older blue-

collar workers, in particular, indicate that their duration of unemployment already is long, and if they re-enter the labour force, it is usually at lower paying jobs. A significant proportion of displaced blue-collar workers, especially those who have little education, or who do not speak functional English may require basic language and skills upgrading and/or counselling to rejoin the workforce and, failing that, will need other income and social supports.

Many of the new job opportunities for blue-collar displaced workers from manufacturing and construction will be in entry-level office and service-sector jobs. Many of these blue collar workers may need assistance in making the adjustment to a new work culture and role.

***Less Job
Protection***

Compared to government and the established manufacturing sector, service sector jobs are less unionized, more likely to be part-time, and found in small firms or in firms that fail. These characteristics are typically associated with reduced employee job protection and benefits such as disability income, pension, extended health care, life insurance, and dental services. Although some improvements in private benefits are likely, more individuals and their families will find themselves, during personal emergencies or economically volatile times, without company benefits and other protection. They will need to rely upon the public safety net. More attention is likely to be paid to integrating public and private disability-benefit schemes, and greater demands can be expected upon welfare, disability and other income supports, and health and social services.

***More Low Paying
Jobs***

The average weekly wage in the service sector is about 80 percent of that of manufacturing sector. Ontario's legislated minimum wage has declined in real terms since 1975. Although Metropolitan Toronto may have more than its share of reasonable paying entry level service-sector jobs, a significant proportion of the entry and unskilled service-sector jobs are likely to be low paying. As the service sector grows, more individuals and households will be dependent on income from low-end service jobs, and some will slip into poverty.

***Polarization of
Income***

Many argue that the service sector has a bipolar wage distribution. The majority of jobs are very low paying, but many professional and management jobs are relatively high paying.

The competition in the service-sector, and the general low levels of unionization, suggest there will be continued downward

pressure on wages for unskilled jobs, although this may be counter-balanced, to some extent, by salary increases to attract applicants for jobs where there are shortages. In addition, the growing specialization of Metro for headquarters and executive function, and the automation of many lower level functions may generate an increase in medium paying office jobs in Metro. At the same time, the service sector will also require more senior management and professionals, who will be highly rewarded, some reaping the fruits of international shortages in certain skilled areas.

The new economic era will reward education and punish the lack of it. Advancing in one's employment will require more knowledge and skills than in the past. Basic literacy in English will be needed, and a premium will be placed on problem-solving and analytical abilities. Familiarity with computers will be a prerequisite for most office jobs, and specialized technical skills will be required for many manufacturing jobs. As organizations introduce decentralized and flatter organizational structures, communication and interpersonal skills and the ability to participate as a member of a work team will increase in importance. Social (business) networks will be rewarded in employment advances.

Today, a disproportionate number of employees in lower paying jobs are: from poor backgrounds; recent immigrants; illiterate or do not speak English; likely to have dropped out of high school; unfamiliar with the Canadian business culture; unlikely to have (commercially useful) social networks; and more likely to be discriminated against at the workplace. Racial minorities are disproportionately represented in all these categories.

*Feminization of
Poverty*

With respect to income levels, employment equity, discrimination, and access to services, women in all parts of society suffer further inequality. Without major changes in public policy the feminization of poverty will continue, especially among single-parent women.

Unless significant changes occur, Metropolitan Toronto may experience further polarization of income and life-style, reinforcing generational poverty intertwined with factors of race, ethnicity, and gender.

Of particular concern to the focus groups conducted for this study was Toronto's drop-out rates, which are high by North

American standards. Without an adequate education or technical training, there is serious risk that many youth will find themselves in low-paying jobs with little hope of advancement. This can only aggravate a sense of hopelessness and cynicism present in many young people, and exacerbate alienation, substance abuse, crime, and mental health problems, all of which have been on the increase.

Failure by society to respond to these matters could lead to increased crime, substance abuse, welfare dependency, marginalization of an underclass, and public and private security costs. Failure could also exacerbate tensions among disadvantaged and established groups.

One major set of institutions on which new pressures will be placed is the education system. Schools increasingly will be expected to tackle issues of curriculum, counselling, and racism. For those people in the work force, who have low education or are illiterate, as are 20-25 percent of Metro residents, there will be a greater need for literacy training or skills upgrading. Pressures will be on high school, community college and private institutions for adult education to help prevent social problems by providing educational services.

***Role of the
Workplace***

In addition to educational institutions, the work place is emerging as a possible vehicle for delivering social programs.

Over the last decade, many employers have established successful programs in daycare, occupational health, employee assistance, and health promotion. Pressures on more employers to introduce programs can be expected.

Because of the many small service-sector firms, it may be difficult to develop programs that rely upon companies' having internal resources to co-ordinate and implement such programs. This may require new ways of working with associations of companies.

***Retraining
Programs***

The major opportunity to combine social and economic objectives may lie in the improvement and expansion of work retraining programs.

The low levels of unemployment projected for the latter 1990s may represent an opportunity to help disadvantaged people obtain training and jobs that lead to real career advancement. Considerations are likely to be given to work-placement programs that help young people obtain a better sense of the opportunities that are available, and establish contacts that lead to summer jobs and future work.

A tight labour market should encourage companies to invest more in human resources, and collaborate in public-private sector efforts at retraining and employment equity initiatives. Such initiatives would require co-operation among the Ministries of Education, Skills Development, Community and Social Services, the Canada Employment and Immigration Commission, and the business community. Metro decision-makers will have to determine how active a role they wish to play, as enlisting the co-operation of the relevant public and business organizations will take great leadership and energy.

If the economy does not provide this opportunity, Metro Council may well be challenged to move beyond its traditional mandate, and assist in the creation of new employment opportunities, especially for disadvantaged groups.

*Baby Boom Bulge
Frustration*

Other social issues also may find their focal point in the work place. Frustrations can be expected to grow among the bulge of baby-boomers, many of whom will find their career progress retarded by fellow baby-boomers occupying higher positions in the corporate pyramid. This group will challenge companies to find more innovative ways of motivating individuals. A growing diversity of work arrangements and profit-sharing plans, and greater investment by the larger, more stable firms in training and human resources development can all be expected.

Although the growing shift to office work will be expected to reduce physical injuries associated with blue collar work, evidence suggests growing employee concerns and compensation claims around alleged employer responsibilities for stress, heart attacks, indoor air quality, and other environmental problems.

*Potential
Implications of
Energy Price Hikes*

The Metropolitan Toronto community also may be affected by decisions beyond its control. For instance, due to supplier-price hikes or tax hikes for environmental or fiscal reasons, oil, gas, and electricity prices will likely rise over the next decade. This will cause the most difficulty for the working poor who must drive or who live in poorly insulated, bulk-metered apartments, and the elderly who may own a house but have little income. Specialized private transportation for the disabled and elderly will also be affected and with high energy-price hikes, even public-transportation prices could rise significantly. Since private automobile community costs would increase, there may be a greater demand to live within Metropolitan Toronto where

commuting costs are cheaper and public transportation is a viable alternative. Social service programs that have high building-operating costs also will be adversely affected.

*Technological
Impact on Social
Service
Administration*

Technological changes also will impact directly on the operation of social service organizations. Computer and communication technologies offer significant opportunities for social and community service programs. These include:

- desktop publishing and interactive multi-media technology for literacy and skill training, provision of information on various topics (e.g., nutrition), and delivery of program information (e.g., location of language services). Community organizations also will use these technologies to facilitate communication with one another and the public.
- new-database management tools to access, integrate, analyze, and graphically display data from many different field locations, for example, pertaining to population, caseload patterns, service units etc.

The growing use of new technologies will draw public attention to a number of ethical issues, that have significant social funding and policy implications. Metropolitan Council and its funded agencies can expect pressure to take stands on such issues as:

- the appropriate use of new, powerful diagnostic tools to detect genetic abnormalities and substance abuse;
- the responsibility of society to provide technically feasible but expensive support, for example, with respect, to assistive devices, and personal care to facilitate disabled individuals to live on their own or to work;
- the role of monitoring devices that enable tracking of criminal offenders as part of rehabilitative programs;
- privacy, access, and use of sensitive information, e.g., on race and sexual abuse, which are stored in service organization databanks.

4

Public Policy Trends and their Implications: Federal and Provincial Contexts

4.1 Introduction This section reviews federal and provincial policy trends and changing public perceptions of the role of government for social development issues. Background on international, Canadian and Ontario policy directions are presented in order to provide a jurisdictional, political, fiscal and programmatic context for the formulation of the Metropolitan Toronto social development strategy.

4.2 The Global Context Social policy in Canada in the 1990s will be more affected by global developments and trends than at any time in our history. The increasing globalization of Canadian economy will have both negative and positive implications for our system of income security and social services.

On the one hand, there will be pressure to reduce public and private sector overhead costs to the levels of our competitors, particularly the United States. This is likely to lead to a more market-driven set of public policies, and greater income differentials among both regions and individuals.

On the other hand, there will be a much greater awareness of how other countries have developed social policies and successfully integrated them with economic policies. Many European countries, for example, have managed to combine high levels of income and competitiveness with a strong framework of income security and social service programs. The 'social contract' will be an important part of the Europe of 1992 and a generally accepted base for Europe's successful adaptation to the global competitive challenges (with objections from the UK). There may be increases in levels of social policy standards as countries evaluate successful models.

Among the industrialized countries there may well develop in the 1990s a more commonly accepted definition of what constitutes a 'social contract', i.e., the basic guarantees provided by social policies. These would include: the right to safe conditions in the workplace (along with a government attempt to achieve full employment), a right to a minimum income, protection against catastrophic risk (e.g.,

medicare), and the promotion of equal opportunity in business and government employment. As such rights or policies become more recognized internationally, the risk that countries will try to compete economically by offering lower social benefits would lessen.

Throughout the industrialized world, the 1960s and early 1970s were characterized by the establishment in most countries of the basic elements of the welfare state. The 1980s saw a resurgence of neo-conservatism, led by the economic and social policy revolutions of the Thatcher and Reagan governments. In those two countries, the accepted approach was that social problems were best dealt with through a strong economy driven by a private sector largely unfettered by government.

At the beginning of the 1990s there appears to be little weakening of the conviction among government leaders that higher productivity and a globally competitive strong economy provide the framework within which social issues can be most easily tackled. On the other hand, there appears to be a reaction setting in against the extremes of wealth and poverty engendered by the neo-conservative approach. It has been noted by many that countries like Germany and Japan were able to increase their economic preeminence in the 1980s without a weakening in their social-security framework (unlike the United Kingdom and the United States).

*Canada-USA
Relationship*

Nevertheless, the relationship between Canada and the United States will remain our most important international influence. The US has a budget deficit almost as burdensome as Canada's. Although there are rising expectations in the US for some government programs to deal with poverty and to 'level up' to the social security programs of some other countries (e.g., Canadian medicare), the budget situation may mean delays in the implementation of plans in this direction. The likelihood of US tax increases to meet its budget deficit may lessen to some extent the pressure to lower Canadian tax rates (and therefore social spending) closer to American levels. Over the whole of the 1990s, however, the US is likely to be preoccupied with combatting a sense that it is losing ground economically to the EEC and the industrialized countries of Asia. Its social policy moves are likely to be taken, albeit in a fragmented sense, with an eye on their competitive impact.

The challenge to architects of Canadian social policy in the 1990s, therefore, will be how to integrate social and economic

objectives in an increasingly competitive and global environment. This will require an increasing adaptation here of the most successful policy innovations from other countries, a quality Canada has not demonstrated strongly in the recent past.

4.3 The Canadian Context

Canada, like most of the other industrialized countries, developed its basic social-security structure in the 1960s. There was a generally shared consensus at the beginning of that decade among the public, the main political parties, and the federal and provincial governments that Canada needed to fill in a number of gaps in its social policy structure. This broad public policy consensus, and a decade of almost uninterrupted economic growth and buoyant government revenues, permitted a major expansion of social programs. As with all programs involving both levels of government in our federal state, their introduction was accompanied by often difficult federal-provincial bickering and negotiation. Nevertheless, the 1960s established the social policy and program framework that is still essentially intact in 1990.

The accomplishments of the 1960s (and for some elements the later 1950s) included the establishment of Old Age Security as a universal right, the Canada and Quebec Pension Plans, universal medicare, the strengthening of the unemployment insurance program (initiated at the beginning of the 1940s), and a national federal-provincial revenue equalization program. Partly arising from federal-provincial sharing programs, the provinces initiated the building of a large number of new secondary schools, community colleges, and universities. The Canada Assistance Plan was introduced and hailed as a model of federal-provincial action, providing for equal sharing of the costs of a wide variety of social assistance and social service programs, in large part delivered by the municipalities.

The basic structure of social programs in place by the end of the 1960s is regarded by many Canadians as an acquired right that helps define their attachment to the country. Periodic attempts during the 1970s and 1980s to rationalize programs (e.g., The Orange Paper on Social Security, the Forget report on unemployment insurance) have foundered on a public perception that they infringed the 'sacred trust', or on provincial fears that the federal government was more concerned with limiting its expenditures than improving its programs.

Since 1975 the federal government has faced almost constant budget deficit problems. The indexation of the personal income tax,

the oil price shocks, and the sluggish economic growth of the 1970s and early 1980s put severe constraints on federal revenues. The major shared-cost programs in the social policy field became prime targets for expenditure constraints, in considerable part because the federal government received little credit for financial expenditures dispensed by the provinces and municipalities, and because it had little control over the design and content of the particular programs. During the latter 1970s and early 1980s, the federal-provincial agenda was crowded by economic, energy, and constitutional issues, and social policy took a back seat in the attention of first ministers.

The election of the Mulroney government in 1984 brought a new direction to public policy. The Conservatives, influenced in part by the Thatcher and Reagan governments, promised a more market-driven set of public policies, a smaller federal government, more federal-provincial harmony, and a closer relationship to the United States.

Free Trade Agreement

The signing of the free trade agreement with the United States is so far the achievement of this philosophic approach that has the widest potential ramifications. If it is followed up by an agreement limiting the degree to which governments may undertake trade-distorting measures (such as subsidies, elements of regional development programs or interventionist activities like farm marketing boards), governments in Canada may be unable to intervene in the economy in ways they have in the past to protect regions or groups of individuals from loss of income. Even without such an agreement on non-tariff barriers, the increased exposure to American and global competition resulting from the trade agreement will put increased pressure on social benefits and regulations that could be deemed to add costs to Canadian production.

The market-driven economic policies of the Conservative government have produced a tax system more oriented to consumption than to incomes or wealth. The government also cut back sharply on assistance to industry in the poorer regions. As a result, even though economic growth rates were substantial in the late 1980s, income disparities between rich and poor individuals and regions have widened.

Fiscal Squeeze

Even with economic growth, the government's budgetary deficit has remained critical. The high-interest, anti-inflation stance of the Bank

of Canada has exacerbated the budget deficit and acted to prevent the federal government from adding to social programs. Restrictions on transfers to the provinces under the Canada Assistance Plan and Established Programs Financing (for health and post-secondary education) became targets of the budget squeeze. Many observers see the proposed package of changes to the unemployment insurance program as much an exercise in reducing federal expenditures as a program to improve the incentives for the unemployed to enter or re-enter the labour market. The budget situation has also stalled federal commitments to introduce a national child care program and increase contributions to training programs. The failure of the Meech Lake accord, the cornerstone of the federal government's objective of 'national reconciliation', has clouded the prospects for constructive federal-provincial negotiations over the direction of social policy programs.

In 1990, therefore, the national social policy framework is conditioned by:

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| <i>Global Competition</i> | • a much greater exposure to global competition, especially from the United States, and a resulting loss in Canada's ability to develop a set of social policies in isolation; |
| <i>Retrenchment from Welfare State</i> | • a current federal government more to the right philosophically than any of its post-war predecessors, and unlikely to place a priority on social assistance programs; |
| <i>Fiscal Austerity</i> | • a federal budget deficit that will endure until at least the mid-1990s, further constraining the funds available for social programs; and |
| <i>Federalism in Question</i> | • a crisis in Canada's governing structures, caused by the failure of the Meech Lake accord, which will make any kind of national decision-making difficult, especially on shared federal-provincial programs. |

What is this framework likely to mean for the province of Ontario and Metro Toronto as they devise social policy and programs for the 1990s?

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| <i>Implications for Ontario and Metro</i> | First, it means that there could be a continuation of instability in the national public-policy environment. The probability of a more autonomous Quebec could call into question the existence and scope |
|---|---|

of national programs that redistribute wealth and employment across the country. This could result by the end of the decade in a radical change in Canada's federal structure and the roles and responsibilities of the national and regional governments. It could involve a situation anywhere on the spectrum from a paralysis of decision-making to a radical restructuring of social and economic policies.

Second, even with no radical change in our governing structures, there is likely to be a decline in the capacity of the national government to initiate, finance, and implement major social programs. No matter what the philosophic direction of the party in power in Ottawa, the global, constitutional, and fiscal restraints will make major policy innovation difficult.

Third, fiscal restraints will add pressures to make cuts in existing programs like CAP, unemployment insurance, and regional development. The current recession will strain federal revenues and expenditures over the next two years, making cuts in transfers to the provinces even more likely.

Fourth, there is likely to be a continuing erosion of the universal social programs, although the facade of universality may remain. Increasingly, federal programs will be 'targeted', with 'clawbacks', income tests, and other ways to avoid spending large sums on those not deemed to be in need. There will be an increasing linkage between the tax system and income security payments, although a full-scale guaranteed annual income is less likely. (An example is the credit for low income persons from the new Goods and Services Tax.)

Fifth, there will likely be a continuing federal assumption of responsibility to operate income support programs, but with greater differences appearing across the country as individual provinces opt for varying levels of support.

Sixth, there will be conflict between rising expectations of the public for more sophisticated health and social services and fiscal realities. Opinion polls suggest that 'Canadians are in favour of Swedish social assistance levels at American tax rates'.

Seventh, as federal regional-development assistance programs decline in magnitude, there will be more of a public-policy willingness to let the market determine inter-regional equilibria. Inter-provincial migration to the Metro region will be affected in relation to the

relative strength of its economy to other parts of the country.

Eighth, there is likely to be some short-term federal action on outstanding political commitments on child care, manpower training and unemployment insurance, but these will not involve major new federal expenditures. Any child-care program is likely to have an income-tested feature as eligibility for entering or paying for the program, with emphasis on employer-provided care. The unemployment insurance changes will likely result in more of the unemployed moving to local social-assistance rolls.

Ninth, even though higher unemployment is predicted for the short term, federal demographic projections assume a shortage of skilled labour in the later 1990s. This will increase pressures to accept more immigration and refugee flows. If anything, the federal government, for budget reasons, is likely to assume less of the specific costs associated with the integration of refugees and immigrants.

Tenth, there is a consensus within the federal bureaucracy that there will have to be greater compatibility of economic and social policies in the 1990s (e.g., between unemployment insurance and training programs, immigration policy, and labour force requirements). The extent to which this can be achieved will be affected by the restraints discussed above.

4.4 Quebec as a Reference Point

As the largest and the most urbanized and industrialized province, Ontario has been a leader among the provinces in some areas of social policy. Workers' compensation, regulations on the portability of private pensions, public housing, and multicultural programs are examples. On some of the basic elements of social policy, however, it has followed the lead of other provinces. The CCF/NDP governments of Saskatchewan, for example, led the way in hospital and medical insurance.

In the 1990s, it is likely that Quebec will be the jurisdiction most likely to influence Ontario policies. Of all the provinces, Quebec has the most sophisticated integration of social and economic policies and has adapted many of its programs to the changing international scene.

A close dialogue between Quebec and Ontario provincial decision-makers in the social policy field has developed. Successful initiatives in Quebec may very well be paralleled in Ontario.

Integration of Services in Quebec

The framework of Quebec's current social policy was developed as part of Quebec's quiet revolution of the 1960s which found its origins, in part, in the faculties of social science at Laval and the University of Montreal. From the beginning of the 1960s, social and economic policy thinking were combined as part of the new nationalism of Quebec. Thus, the Quebec Pension Plan was developed in large part so that the resulting pension fund could be used as an economic development tool. In the early 1970s, health and social services delivery was combined through a network of regional and community health and social-service centres that provided a one-step assessment and referral service to local health and social-service programs and institutions. Later in the 1970s, income security was removed from the Ministry of Health and Social Affairs (which had become too large in relation to the rest of the government) and was placed in a new Ministry of Income Security and Employment. This ministry has as its major objective the encouragement and preparation of employable social-assistance recipients for full participation in the labour force. The structure of the ministry has put a premium on the avoidance of the 'welfare trap'.

Quebec also has initiated changes in the personal income tax to relate it directly to social assistance levels, to avoid disincentives to enter the labour force.

Quebec has been a more centralist province than Ontario in terms of provincial-municipal relations, although there have been exceptions. Montreal, for example, has been delegated many of the program functions of the Ministry of Income Security and Employment. Given the current trend towards devolution, it is likely that municipalities will receive more delivery responsibilities. The existence of civic political parties with clear platforms and accountability to a party leader in Montreal, Quebec City and other large centres makes this more likely. Overall, strategic policy formation will remain in provincial hands.

4.5 The Ontario Context

In Ontario, social and economic policies have developed more separately than in the Quebec of the last 25 years. There has not been the same homogeneity of views of those in charge of economic and social policy, nor has there been the same degree of public consensus on future directions. Ontario has accepted, more readily than Quebec, the broad framework of federal income-security programs.

Specific social assistance and social service programs have been

developed in Ontario more as a result of the professional social-services policy community - often through commissioned reports - than as the result of integrated social and economic policy direction. Also social-services programs have been characterized to a higher degree than in Quebec by delivery through special-purpose bodies and voluntary agencies. The more fragmented and decentralized approach of Ontario has the advantage of often responding effectively to local situations. There has not traditionally been, however, a good link with health, economic or tax policies.

There often have been conflicts within the Ontario government on the most appropriate direction for social policy. In the 1960s, the social service community was united behind the concept of the Canada Pension Plan and universal medicare. A more conservative element in the government and the Conservative party preferred limited solutions with a greater private-sector role, for example, a more complete system of private pension plans rather than the CPP, income-tested medicare (OMSIP) rather than universal medicare, etc.

*Social Policy in the
1960s and 1970s*

The framework of Ontario's social programs has been built up over a long period by the Ministry of Community and Social Services and its predecessors, back to the Department of Public Welfare. Some programs are delivered by the municipalities under cost-sharing formulas, some by special purpose bodies like the Children's Aid Societies, some by private or voluntary agencies, and some by the provincial government directly. Other Ministries such as Health, Citizenship, Education, College and Universities, Skills Development, Culture and Communications, and Housing have their own set of 'social' programs, also delivered through a variety of means.

At the end of the 1960s, there was a readiness by the public and the province to develop and implement broad economic, social, and regional plans that would put Ontario in the forefront of public-policy innovation. The creation of regional governments to complement the creation of Metropolitan Toronto was based on the concept that a greater degree of program design and service delivery of social and other programs would be devolved to them. The creation of the social-policy field of cabinet in 1972 was to lead to an integrated approach to the planning of health, education, community, and social service programs.

Most of these planning aspirations, conceived in the context of

a booming economy and government revenues, fell afoul of the difficult economic times and severe fiscal restraint Ontario experienced following the oil-price shock of the 1970s and continuing through to the recession of 1981-82.

The decade from 1975 to 1985 was a period of fiscal retrenchment. Few new social programs were initiated and little new responsibility was devolved to the municipalities. As was the case with the federal government, the provincial government concentrated on combatting energy, economic, and constitutional crises.

*Social Policy in the
1980s*

The accord governing the minority government of 1985-87 dealt with a number of social policy items -- e.g., rent control, equal pay for work of equal value, and the indexation of private pensions. Largely as a result of programs initiated during this period, the Ontario government's annual expenditures grew more rapidly than those of other provinces during the 1985-90 period. From the beginning of its mandate in 1985, the Liberal government turned its internal planning attention to the adaptation of the industrial structure and labour force to global economic challenges, and to the adaptation of government programs to the demands of an aging and increasingly diverse society.

Many studies were commissioned on issues that affected social policy: e.g., that of the Social Assistance Review Committee, a review of the implications of the growing service sector of the economy, a review of the educational curriculum. Ministers without portfolio and small secretariats were established on aging, on the disabled, and on women's issues. The government adopted a policy of hiring more women, francophones, and members of visible minorities for senior positions. The government's policy priorities were demonstrated by the creation of two councils, chaired by the Premier - the Premier's Council on Technology and the Premier's Council on Health. These two councils have involved several cabinet members and many leading representatives of the private, voluntary, and academic sectors. They have spawned a network of advisory committees and have published a series of reports.

*Premier's Council
on Technology*

The Premier's Council on Technology adopted as a priority the theme of adapting Ontario's labour force to meet global economic competitive challenges. Thus, there has been a heavy emphasis on training and upgrading, and on cooperative labour-management activities in the work place. Its recommendations have in part been driven by comparisons with highly competitive nations, like Japan and

some of the countries of continental Europe, that have adopted national industrial policies. The Council on Technology has recommended a much greater effort to help all elements of Ontario's potential labour force make a contribution to Ontario's competitive strength. Because it sees a potential shortage of skilled labour in Ontario in the latter 1990s, the Council on Technology has recommended a massive effort to retrain many Ontarians who otherwise would be marginal participants in the labour force and clients of social assistance programs.

*Premier's Council
on Health*

The Premier's Council on Health was created because of a perception of crisis in the health system. Other government spending priorities were being crowded out by seemingly uncontrollable increases in the use of health facilities and programs -- health had moved from 25 percent to over 33 percent of provincial budget expenditures between 1980 and 1990, with no respite in sight. The system seemed to concentrate on treatment, often expensive, with few financial controls. The rapid aging of the population makes a crisis inevitable in the 1990s unless there were major program changes.

One focus for the Council on Health has been the supply, training, and retraining of professionals in the health field. A major goal of the 1990s is the breaking down of the barriers among professionals and the credential system that has hindered the restructuring of the health system.

The Council's concern for preventive and community health has led it to recommend strongly the integration of health and social service programs in areas like long-term care of the elderly. (The appointment of a joint assistant deputy minister to the two ministries has been one result of this policy direction.)

The Premier's Council on Health -- in its attempts to tackle some of the basic elements of the health system -- is almost inevitably moving to an overall approach to social policy that, if it becomes the framework of provincial policy, will strongly affect the provision of social services by Metro Toronto.

The directions the province is heading in economic development, technology, training, and health are intended to lead to a more integrated overall economic and social-policy framework for the province. While the impetus may have been in large part economic competitiveness and restraint of provincial budgetary expenditures, the

impact on social programs may be as strong as on economic programs.

The policy challenge includes marrying the directions of the two Premier's Councils with each other and with separate exercises that have proceeded in areas such as income security, housing, the planning of the Greater Toronto Area, and the directions of the education system. Part of the challenge is to negotiate and find the most effective allocation of implementation responsibilities among ministries and levels of government and between government and the private sector.

The two Premier's Councils have begun to influence government social-policy directions and will continue to do so during the 1990s. The creation of the Ministry of Skills Development and a the new programs under it exemplify the training priority. Among the major challenges the Ministry faces is that of working with unions and management to make training and upgrading in the workplace an accepted and normal part of employer-employee relationships. The Council on Technology has raised the concern among the informed public about the need to retrain the labour force, but it may have raised excessive expectations about the capacity of skills retraining to solve the problems of technological change. The reports from the two Premier's Councils also leave unsettled some of the difficult issues of roles and responsibilities of training providers, an omission magnified by the likely shortfall in federal funding.

*Social Assistance
Review Committee*

The province also has been reviewing the basis of its social assistance programs. The Social Assistance Review Committee report has provided a philosophic framework for a series of adaptations to social assistance during the 1990s. Its basic thrusts to provide incentives and support services for persons on social assistance to work, to streamline the administration of social assistance programs, to increase welfare benefits, and to expand other social service programs have been accepted by the government and major parties, but fiscal realities may mean its implementation will be in stages. The Provincial-Municipal Social Assistance Review Report has recommended provincial-municipal sharing division of responsibilities for the implementation of SARC and related provincial programs but many issues remain to be decided.

At the beginning of the 1990s, Ontario's position is similar to what it was in the early 1970s, but with some important differences. As in the late 1960s, major policy reviews have been undertaken and

blueprints are in the process of being developed for the next decade in the areas of the environment, technology, health, social assistance, training and urban region development, and others. As in the early 1970s, implementation of proposed reforms are being threatened by a Canada-wide economic recession, by a squeeze on public fiscal resources, especially at the federal level, and by a severe challenge to Canadian federalism.

*Provincial Social
Policy Directions*

Within this context, we can make some conclusions about the likely direction of the provincial social policy framework over the coming decade and how it will affect Metro. Obviously, it will be affected by the political approach of the government, and may vary in its market versus intervention emphasis. Governments of any political stripe, however, will have to operate within the constraints of the global and national public policy outlook already described. Among the directions pointed to by provincial policies are:

- An increasing integration of social and economic policies as the skill level of the labour force is recognized as a key to economic competitiveness, and as satisfactory employment is recognized as a key to the health of communities.
- An increasing reliance on horizontal decision-making structures. The province is determined to improve its capacity for overall strategic management. This will involve more bridges between ministries as well as restructuring ministries to better link health with social services, and income security with employment.
- A greater integration between the tax system and the social assistance structure. This may come in part to parallel federal government moves in this direction, but also to provide stronger incentives for people to move from social assistance to employment. It also will be a result of fiscal difficulties that prevent adoption of the 'carrot' approach to ending welfare dependency as espoused in the SARC report.
- Continued general reliance on SARC as the framework for social assistance reform, with somewhat less of an increase in levels of payments than recommended. The recommendation of a national disability-insurance program is unlikely to be adopted in the near future. Many of the seventy other

recommendations not yet implemented will likely be adopted as part of a reform of social assistance legislation.

- Provincial policies to be developed with greater freedom from federal conditions. Federal financial sharing will be a smaller factor in provincial decision-making. Differences in the form and funding of programs among the provinces are likely to widen.
- More public-private collaboration in the provision of programs like retraining and day care with both of these areas to be increasingly the subject of labour-management agreements and supplemented by some public funding. Child-care access may be virtually universal by the end of the decade.
- A greater assumption by the province of a role in immigration policy. This will be accompanied by a greater focus on the adaptation of many government programs to a more multiracial and multicultural society and a greater integration between immigration, employment, and training programs.
- Likely movement by the province to a greater assumption of responsibility for income security programs, accompanied by devolution of responsibility for the delivery of many social services to municipalities, voluntary agencies or the private sector. The province would still likely retain a capacity to develop overall policies, set minimum standards and monitor results.
- Less reliance on institutional approaches to social problems and more reliance on community-based and varied services.
- Increased conflict between rising expectations for new programs and fiscal realities, particularly during the first half of the decade. As a result, there will be decreased reliance on purely government-financed programs and more reliance on user fees and other sources of finances.
- More acceptance of the principle of 'empowerment' by disadvantaged groups in programs affecting them. This would be achieved by bringing more representatives of such groups into decision-making positions at the centre.

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- Restructuring of the health delivery system by the end of the decade to emphasize lower-cost approaches.

The achievement of these directions will require the exercise of political will in the face of fiscal restraints and the inevitable opposition of various interests.

5

Metropolitan Toronto Social Policy Context

This section highlights the implications of provincial policies, changing public and community perceptions, and emerging environmental and regional planning priorities for the formulation of a Metropolitan Toronto social development strategy.

5.1 Devolution of Provincial Social Service Responsibilities

The issue of possible provincial devolution of responsibility for social services to municipalities is central. The outcome of current discussions on this topic is by no means certain. Even though the Provincial-Municipal Social Services Review Committee and the Ministry of Community and Social Services (MCSS) appear to have a preference for considerable devolution of program design and implementation to large municipalities at least, overall policy direction has been leading to an integration of many of MCSS's programs with those of Health and other ministries. Some other ministries, concerned to achieve more uniform professional standards, their own delivery networks, and a higher degree of provincial control, are not as disposed to devolution to municipalities. Some thinking in the professional social service community will also likely oppose further devolution to the municipalities, especially to smaller urban centres, many of which they believe will not be as sensitive to social needs as the provincial government.

Although there is a consensus that social services should be delivered on a more local or community basis, it is not certain that the municipality will necessarily be the agent of delivery. In the past, battles in the provincial government between those for and against devolution of responsibilities to municipalities have sometimes ended up with a compromise solution whereby delivery is carried out locally by a special purpose body with a more direct accountability link to a provincial ministry than to a municipality.

If, nevertheless, the decision is made to devolve considerably greater authority to the municipalities for the design and development of social service programs, it is unlikely to result in a massive transfer to all municipalities at the same time. Implementation will likely be phased, maybe only to regional or large municipalities and possibly characterized by experiments in the devolution of specific programs on

to individual regions.

Another constraint on possible devolution of program responsibilities to municipalities is a belief in some provincial and non-government circles that the municipal political system in Ontario does not lend itself to the development and maintenance of priority setting in the context of fiscal restraint. Those working in a cabinet system, in which the governing party controls the executive and administration, are sometimes concerned about the apparent lack of accountability in municipal government, in which the head of council cannot necessarily commit the action of the council. The concern is reinforced by the concern that devolution will increase provincial-municipal financial battles, as the municipalities charge they have not been provided sufficient funds to handle new responsibilities.

Even if a trade-off is eventually arranged whereby the province assumes the cost of income security (perhaps through a combined Family Benefits and Welfare Assistance program, delivered by the province), while Metro obtains the responsibility for the design and delivery of a number of social service programs, there will probably be a fiscal squeeze for Metro, at least in the early 1990s. Indeed, there may be some advantage to Metro in not moving to assume responsibilities before the provincial fiscal situation is clearer.

*Devolution to
Metro?*

The challenge for Metro will be to make constructive proposals to the province for the assumption of further responsibility that can be seen to be fiscally responsible and compatible with the directions of provincial policy objectives. Metro has many reasons for arguing that it is in a better position than a provincial agency to design and implement programs that will deal directly with social conditions unique to Metro. At a time when 'empowerment' of disadvantaged groups is becoming an accepted policy objective, Metro can argue that it is in a much better position than the Province to make this objective a reality.

Greater flexibility to design programs also would permit Metro to do more to adapt successful program experiences from other jurisdictions. Some of the other regions in Ontario, according to provincial officials, have been particularly successful (even more than Metro) in specific aspects of program delivery. Some Quebec and European municipalities also have carried out social planning activities that could provide useful pointers.

5.2 Public Perception of Social Policy

Of course, any new roles for Metro in social service delivery, must take into account public perceptions of government, specifically municipal responsibilities in social policy.

Traditional support for welfare state

Traditionally, Canadian society has supported the basic underpinnings of our welfare system, which has embodied the following assumptions about the responsibilities of the state:

- government has a responsibility to meet the needs of individuals and groups adversely affected by the operations of the market system;
- government has a right to intervene in the market to ensure that the rights of individuals are protected;
- government action may be necessary when existing institutions fail to deal with the need of individuals and groups; and
- government policy may have impacts on individuals or groups that create moral obligations for social policy.

Current attitudes to welfare state

These assumptions began to be seriously challenged during the 1980s, when many Canadians began to question whether our social security structure had become an impediment to economic development. Although Canada's governments have not shared the Reagan or Thatcher approach to slashing social services and dismantling the social security system, it is clear that some decision-makers and public opinion have shifted toward approaches that involve less government regulation and more privatization. By the end of the decade, however, it had become clear that Canadians did not want to see the extremes of wealth and poverty which would be generated by an unfettered market economy, but they were ready to see more creativity and variety in the way the disadvantaged were assisted.

Although the social services programs of Ontario and Metropolitan Toronto are generally supported by the public, there does appear to be strong wishes for more selectivity in the provision of assistance, more efficiency in program delivery, and for assistance to be tied to the willingness to work or obtain retraining.

Ambivalent support for social services spending

There is ambivalence about additional government funding of social programs. On the one hand there is strong empathy for the victims of sexual and physical abuse and a desire for improved programs in

certain areas such as environment, housing, and daycare. On the other hand, there is a desire to avoid tax increases. Metro residents generally appear to want to cut or hold constant overall taxes, but enhance individual programs. Municipal politicians, as lightning rods of the electorate's opinions, are generally reluctant to raise property taxes above inflation rates in the Toronto region.

A majority of Metro Toronto's population appears satisfied with Metro government, although more are satisfied with their area municipal government. The shift to direct election of Metro Councillors will increase the profile of and raise higher standards for Metro Council to reach.

Metro Council undoubtedly will face increasing pressures from community organizations to provide more services.

*Community
Pressures for More
Involvement in
Social Policy and
Services*

Many of the communities of recent immigrants are now established, with a range of service organizations and professionals. These groups, along with more established ethno-cultural communities, wish to more directly influence how services for immigrants and other members of their community are provided.

Pressures will be placed on Metropolitan Toronto and social service agencies to improve services to ethnic and racial minorities through better and more representative staffing, training, and greater involvement of these groups in the development and delivery of programs. More direct participation by these groups in electoral and political process also is likely.

Many other types of advocacy groups - e.g., those representing women, seniors, gays and lesbians, the poor, the disabled, AIDS support groups - also wish to achieve similar objectives on behalf of their constituencies. These groups also have become more sophisticated in their advocacy. They too wish to exercise more influence on the planning, programming and delivery of services, and have more representation in the decision-making institutions.

Groups concerned with protecting what they see as traditional family and community values also have increased the sophistication of their advocacy efforts.

Although advocacy groups increasingly appear to focus on specific issues, the formation of coalitions among groups to co-

ordinate the advance of their views is likely to grow.

The use of human rights legislation to achieve equity objectives also will continue. Court rulings to provide equal treatment for different groups will be pursued and applied. This will raise costs because the trend will be to achieve consistency by increasing services for deprived groups rather than reducing the services to other groups.

The growing strength of special-interest social-advocacy groups, many with conflicting objectives, poses a major challenge to the role of government in the area of social policy.

Metro policy makers will have to balance new resource demands with the views of many that Metropolitan Toronto is doing a reasonable job and that taxes should not be increased. Metro will also have to clarify and set out the vision and principles that will underlie its community-based programming. For example,

*Delivery
Mechanisms for
Community
Services*

- Should Metro encourage parallel services for different ethnic, racial, women's, disabled, and other groups? Or will mainstream agencies be expected to develop specialized capacities for all Metro's various groups?
- Which services should be delivered by government, and by which level, and by which volunteer organizations? What is the role of special purpose bodies?
- What are the appropriate roles and emphasis for different service models such as: the delivery of specific services (e.g., English language training) to a range of different groups; or the delivery of a range of services to specific groups (e.g., elderly) or the delivery of specific services to specific groups (e.g., English language training to Spanish speaking immigrants)?
- How will the pressure to provide consistent services be balanced against an increasing desire that programs meet the unique needs of particular communities?
- Who are the legitimate representatives of a community? What will Metro need to know to provide funds or grants to new groups about which it knows little?

- How will limited dollars be rationed among large and demanding needs, and how will the fairness of assistance Metro provides to any community be determined and perceived?
- How can community empowerment, innovation, flexibility and decentralization be encouraged while maintaining equity and fiscal and political accountability?

These issues will emerge at the broadest policy and strategy level, but also will have to be dealt with at the detailed level of budget preparation, grant reviews, community consultations, and agency monitoring.

How Metro Council responds will be crucial to the sense of trust, mutual respect, co-operation and sense of membership in a broader community that is felt by the many groups who compose the Metropolitan Toronto community.

5.3 Housing, Planning, and the Environment

In addition to direct pressures for new or expansion of existing Metro social services, the social development strategy of Metropolitan Toronto must also consider other municipal concerns and functions. Housing policies and land use planning, along with the delivery of other services (e.g., policing, public transportation, parks and recreation) influence the relative access of individuals and groups within Metro to important supports and resources.

Affordable Housing

The relative lack of affordable housing has been one of the public's major concerns over the last decade, certainly one of the greatest problems of those with moderate or low income, and an issue consistently identified by Metro social service agencies as critical to other social problems.

Some new groups may be able to purchase a home in the decade ahead.

A decreased rate of growth in household formation should contribute to more stable and less rapid hikes in housing prices in the 1990s compared to the last decade.

As well, smaller household sizes, and higher density developments should help bring the cost per unit down. The greater participation of women in the labour force, pay and employment

equity legislation, the reduced number of children, and the projected transfer of assets from aging parents to their working age children will also increase the income available for many, especially double income households, to buy a house.

However, prospects for rental housing, especially for low-income households, may be more gloomy. There appears no evidence that rental housing has or will decrease in price. Indeed, the new rental units in condominium developments, if anything, will raise the average price of rental housing.

Over the next decade, major policy changes at Metro are likely to take place as a result of efforts to incorporate environmental considerations into housing, planning, social, economic and other municipal programs.

Environmental Priorities

International, federal, provincial, and municipal efforts are mounting to deal with such issues as: reuse and recycling of products, reduction and safe disposal of waste; protection of forests, lakes and natural areas; clean-up of major water and soil contaminated areas; and reduction of chlorofluocarbons, sulphuric and other atmospheric pollutants. Companies increasingly are marketing products based on environmental considerations. Public attitude polls indicate that environmental issues are a source of great concern for most people.

The implications of environmental issues for urban regions and social issues has not been fully felt. Certainly, there does not yet appear to be any major reduction in waste-producing consumerism. The private car, with its dangerous emissions, continues as the dominant mode of transportation. Major clean-ups of contaminated areas are delayed. How our society balances jobs and environmental concerns is not resolved.

The 1990s will be a period in which all parts of society strive to balance a new environmental orientation with what has turned out to be an environmentally threatening system of existing values, policies and behaviour.

How decision-makers address environmental challenges will form a major part of the Metropolitan Toronto political agenda for the 1990s.

The chief area where Metro and local councils will be

pressured to incorporate environmental considerations is in the area of planning.

Regional and municipal planning exercises with long-term planning horizons are underway. Environmental considerations are being incorporated in the formulation of many of the directions emerging from these planning studies. These include:

- reduction of automobile congestion, one of the major concerns of the Metro public, and more emphasis on public transportation;
- higher density, but human-scale developments near public transportation;
- key employment centres on public transit throughout Metro;
- stringent controls to protect water, air, and soil quality;
- preservation of the waterfront and other natural amenities;
- creation of a more liveable city

There also will be increased expectations that the internal operations of all government agencies become environmentally sensitive (e.g., by reducing waste, using biodegradable products, and lowering building temperature and heating costs).

Expensive initiatives such as public transportation and the clean up of soil and water contamination will absorb a growing proportion of public sector funds. This could result in less funds being available for social assistance and services.

Environmental concerns will continue to bring new people and organizations into public life. Many of them will have a different focus than those advocating social programs. There is potential for both collaboration and conflict over both funds and values. The solutions that emerge will be those that best serve environmental, economic, and social objectives.

*Housing
Intensification*

One apparently emerging point of consensus is the recognition that housing intensification (increasing the number of housing units in a community through the processes of infill, conversion, subdivision and redevelopment) meets: *environmental* objectives (by reducing dangerous emissions from private-car use and home heating, while preserving agricultural land); *social* objectives (of affordable housing through lower per-unit costs, reduced congestion, and improved access to community amenities) and; *economic* objectives of lower infrastructure costs.

Given the benefits of intensification and the relatively good public transportation and underutilized infrastructure found in Metropolitan Toronto, pressures can be expected for Metro to absorb a higher proportion of the regional population.

Indeed, Metropolitan Toronto is committed to the goals of increasing its population through housing intensification by about 200,000 people to approximately 2.4 million by 2001, and to 2.5 million or more by 2011.

These directions will have significant implications for social policy and programs.

This approach may enable more recreational and community amenities to be integrated with housing, as well as stimulate new forms of housing, including more flexible units, that can easily accommodate different household configurations over time.

However, there may be some difficulties implementing this intensification strategy.

For instance, community reaction to high density developments has often been negative. NIMBY (Not In My Backyard) reactions have usually been against density levels, scale, design, and who is likely to live in such developments.

To be successful, intensification initiatives will require the political will to provide additional services and integrate new developments with existing community services. Developments on the fringes of existing communities may be easier to implement.

*More Affordable
Housing Requires
more Social
Support*

Many view intensification as a means to provide affordable housing with good access to community services. Indeed, any increases in affordable rental, co-operative or social housing will help alleviate income and housing problems of the existing population. It also will act to retain and draw to Metro from other parts of the region many who have significant social support needs. These include, for example the elderly, sole-parent households, immigrants, the working poor (without automobiles), and those with mobility impairments.

From a provincial or regional perspective, it may be best to encourage even higher proportions of these groups to live in Metropolitan Toronto, where they can benefit from public transit and from the concentration of amenities, health, social, and other services. If Metropolitan Toronto does absorb relatively larger proportions of these groups, however, it will incur additional social service expenditures and related costs.

*Metro Planning in a
Regional Context*

Given the consistent concerns expressed by the public and agency professionals over the last decade about housing, Metro social planners may well be called upon to play an active role in refining Metro's population target and establishing an intensification strategy for achieving it. Any approach would need to take into account the intertwined implications of population levels, housing price and mix, community response, transportation, income support, and social services.

One consequence of Metro social planners assuming a larger role in these discussions would be to encourage the current Provincial review of the Greater Toronto Area to take greater account of social policy and human services issues.

Metro, indeed, may wish to negotiate with other regional governments and the Province about planning alternatives (such as more affordable housing, public transportation or services in the regions) and/or what additional funding and other support should be provided by the Province.

6

Social Policy Challenges for Metropolitan Toronto

6.1 Social Policy Challenges

This section highlights and synthesizes the major themes that were presented in the previous sections.

Changing Population and Needs

Over the next decade, demographic and economic changes will continue to change Metro, bringing with them new needs and demands for new services

- The bulk of projected population growth will be composed of immigration and refugees, primarily from Asia, the Caribbean, Latin America, and Africa. Greater demands will be placed on settlement services, housing, English language training, interpreter services, employment assistance, and family services.
- The population of Metropolitan Toronto will become increasingly diversified. Racial and cultural sensitivities, and the linguistic capacities of all social service agencies will need to expand.
- The growth in the number of the elderly, especially those over 75 years, will expand the needs for health and long-term care, home-care, and specialized transportation, community and social services.
- There will be modest increases in the numbers of children, but a growing proportion will experience significant stresses, especially from the expected increases in family break-ups and blended families. Greater demands will be placed on daycare, family counselling, and specialized children's services.
- There will be more disabled individuals and they also increasingly will expect to participate fully in society. Demands will grow for income, work and social supports, specialized transportation, and housing to help physically and mentally challenged individuals to live and work independently.

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- Growing pressures can be expected for community and social service programs to assist adults, mainly women, who have responsibilities for the care of children, disabled dependants and elderly parents. Special attention may be required for immigrant women who will be more likely to be socially isolated than their male counterparts. Many women who immigrated in the past fifteen years do not speak English and will need language and other assistance to access health and other services.
 - Increasing concern will be focused on addressing the rise in violent and drug related crime, preventing abuse of women, children and the elderly, and creating safer public spaces.
 - The transformation of the global economy places a premium on skills and education. Many affected by economic dislocation will find it difficult to re-enter the labour market without major retraining. Particularly vulnerable will be those with limited English language abilities and education, including many older, blue collar workers and immigrants. The challenge of reducing Metro's severe high school drop out rate and 20 to 25 percent illiteracy level will become even more important. Educational institutions will be expected to play a major role in providing a well-trained working force able to help Canadian business compete throughout the world. Greater demands will be placed on retraining and labour-adjustment programs.
 - Service sector jobs, by and large, will have less protection than traditional manufacturing, government, and unionized jobs. Pressures will grow to find innovative ways of securing benefits and protection for workers and their families. As the size of the service sector increases, many will need income and other support during times of economic volatility and personal or family emergency. Greater attention will be placed on rationalizing public and private disability benefit schemes.
 - Metro institutions and citizens will be increasingly exposed to the accelerating pace of change and the growing interdependence, heightened by instantaneous communication, between their own lives and distant economic, environmental and political events. Metro's social policy must address both

the vulnerabilities and the opportunities associated with this new degree of interconnectedness and uncertainty in the world.

*Changing
Articulation of
Needs*

- There is likely to be continued growth in the number and range of advocacy groups based on racial, ethnic, cultural, gender, age, type of disability, sexual orientation, health, and many other grounds. These groups are demonstrating an increasing sophistication in their lobbying efforts. The courts are being used increasingly to achieve equity objectives. These groups increasingly wish to be involved in the delivery and management of services.
- In addition to adapting the services it offers, Metropolitan Toronto government also will be challenged to both open up and rationalize the process by which input from a highly diversified community is gathered, decisions are made and services are delivered, evaluated and managed. Pressures will be placed on Metropolitan Toronto to respond to and reconcile the sometimes conflicting needs of these different groups.
- Many are concerned about what is perceived as a widening gap between rich and poor, interwoven with race, ethnicity and gender factors. Leadership in the areas of education and employment, and efforts to eliminate discrimination are demanded to avoid marginalization of an underclass and tension among groups.

*Competition for
Resources*

- How these growing, varied needs are reconciled with budget constraints will be a major challenge. Federal and provincial deficits constrain the perceived options available for expanding public sector expenditures. Within these limitations, demands for senior citizens' income support, health care, and environment may severely constrain the funds available for other social services and programs. There will be tremendous pressures to find ways to streamline costs, secure private or donated funds, and utilize existing community capital and human resources.

*Metro at the Policy
Crossroads*

The policies of the federal and provincial governments will have a major bearing on the future development of Metropolitan Toronto. Key policy directions are still far from set. Metropolitan Toronto has an opportunity to influence these directions and their application to this community.

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- Provincial policy is on a course to respond to global economic pressures and a shift to the service economy. Metro has an opportunity to influence how various economic and job-training strategies will be developed, and their impact on Metro's community.
 - No decisions will have more impact on social policy than those concerning Metro's population and its share of the population of the Toronto region. The Provincial planning exercise for the Greater Toronto Area should result in Provincial policy in this regard. Federal immigration policy also will have a major influence on the population of the region, which has usually received over a quarter of Canada's immigrants. Metro's social policy makers should be aware of and have input into any policies which bear heavily on the future population of Metropolitan Toronto.

Further population increase within Metro will require intensification of residential development. Different intensification strategies vary with respect to their implications for affordable housing, existing community reactions, and social service provision. Metropolitan Toronto social policy makers will want to have an influence not only on the size of population, but also on its mix and on how it will be achieved.

Metro's population and housing mix, and the consequent social needs of its population, cannot be separated from planning, housing, and social policy decisions about the region as a whole. Metro social policy makers have a stake in the Greater Toronto Area review, and in ensuring that social issues receive attention commensurate with their importance and costs.

- The relative roles and responsibilities of the province and municipalities in the delivery of social services is now under review. Metro has an opportunity to develop and advocate its views on the scope, focus, financing, and timing of any possible devolution of community services and on possible pilot programs that Metro could operate.
- How the programming of social services can better serve the community will be a major priority for the 1990s. This challenge requires careful thought as to which mechanisms simultaneously best stimulate sensitive programming, fiscal

responsibility, community empowerment, equitable access to services and political accountability.

- Metro can also formulate and advocate its positions on the revisions being considered to social assistance programs. There are other provincial policy initiatives directly bearing on the health of Metropolitan Toronto residents on which Metro's social policy makers also can make an impact, including the Premier's Council on Health, the proposed long term care policy, and efforts under way to integrate health and community services.
- As the public develops more awareness of the responsibilities of Metropolitan Toronto government, the potential social and equity implications of virtually all municipal functions will come under closer scrutiny. Municipal social policy makers will be expected to increase their involvement with such areas as public transportation, parks and recreational facilities, policing and education.

*New Opportunities
and Partners*

There will be new demands on limited resources, but also new opportunities that will challenge the leadership of Metropolitan Toronto. Solutions will increasingly involve co-ordination across disciplines, jurisdictions, and departments. New partnerships will be required involving the public, private, and voluntary sectors.

- Fiscal pressures can stimulate new ways of co-ordination and co-operation among different levels of government and agencies and community organizations.
- The cultural, linguistic and racial diversity of Metropolitan Toronto offers a wealth of ideas, people, experiences and networks throughout the world.

Opportunities

- Empowerment of community groups can lead to more creative programming to meet the changing needs of groups and elicit volunteer participation.
- Senior citizens represent a growing potential resource of skills and experience that can contribute to the workforce, voluntary sector and intergenerational recreational and other programming.

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- The growing visibility of work-related achievements by women, minorities and disabled individuals can help break down stereotyping and serve as role models.
 - The democratization of Eastern Europe has helped rejuvenate belief in social change and democracy. This can foster local community participation and empowerment.
 - The workplace may have an increasingly central role to play in social programs. Pay and employment equity programs are likely to grow in importance. Employers also can play valuable roles in delivering social services such as daycare, retraining, health promotion and counselling. Employers already have in place: a reliable infrastructure for communicating information about services; space and equipment; organization and administrative expertise; and knowledge of their employee population. Work-related programs also significantly reduce time and the inconveniences to employees who must travel to work anyway. Friendships and contacts at the work place can provide a familiar social support.
 - The projection of a tight labour market by the end of the decade may provide an impetus for work training programs that can lead to early employment, especially for high school drop-outs. New opportunities for employment equity programs may emerge as the decade unfolds. Increasing importance is likely to be paid to how economic development activities can be integrated with social objectives regarding employment, community economic development and the provision of socially and environmentally useful services. New types of links with the business sector and unions will be required if Metro is to take an active role in achieving social objectives by using economic tools.
 - Computer technologies will greatly expand the effectiveness of information-management tools available to social service agencies. They will create new requirements for clear guidelines for the access, use, and distribution of sensitive information.

6.2 Conclusion

The quality of life within Metropolitan Toronto will be determined, to a great extent, by how municipal government responds to the needs of its population, including those arising from its growing ethnic and racial diversity, aging population, changing household structures, and from the demands and dislocations of the Metro economy as it adapts to competitive world pressures and becomes increasingly service and knowledge based.

To perform their responsibilities, the Metropolitan Toronto Community Services Department and social service agencies, will need to adapt their internal structures, staffing and training programs. They face challenges to: expand their sensitivity to the diversity of the Metro community; effectively utilize new information and communication technologies; work with and foster collaboration among a broad range of community, public and private sector organizations; develop new models of service delivery and community involvement; and find new ways, within constrained resources, to expand services to a growing population with increasing demands.

Metro Council will be expected to integrate its planning, economic, environmental and social policies, especially with respect to population targets, housing goals and transportation strategies. Demands will be made of Metro's leadership to advance the achievement of social objectives through exerting greater influence on the many federal and provincial policy processes that affect the Metropolitan Toronto community.

The challenge for the drafters of Metropolitan Toronto's social development strategy is to develop a vision and an approach, recognizing the changing needs of the community, resource limitations and new opportunities, and to promote more equitable access to resources and an integration among social, economic and environmental objectives and policies.



Appendix A

Implications of the New Provincial Government

The information in this report was collected prior to the September 6 election, when the New Democratic Party (NDP) formed the government of Ontario. Although the trends discussed in the report, including those in the Policy Section are rooted in long-term societal shifts, the change in government will have an impact.

The short-term impact is difficult to assess as the NDP will require time to organize itself for the task of governing, and to engage in the broad consultation process to which they are committed. The fiscal position inherited by the new government will likely prove significantly worse than even the \$700 million deficit for 1990 announced after the election. This is likely to constrain immediate, dramatic increases in spending on social services.

To a degree uncommon in other parties, the NDP is driven by a policy framework. Over the longer run, it is clear that social policy matters will be of high concern to the New Democratic Party. Issues of children's services, higher welfare benefits, minimum wage, assisted housing, public transportation, and the reduction of poverty have consistently formed part of the NDP policy agenda, while in opposition. Many members of the caucus have direct experiences in social services, and the record number of women in the caucus will likely to bring a greater sensitivity to the disproportionate extent to which women are involved in the receiving and delivery of social services. The traditionally close relationship of the NDP to the union movement may result in increased expectations for employers to take on greater social responsibilities in areas of pay and employment equity, daycare, and health related issues.

However, major increases in funding will have to compete with NDP priorities for environmental protection and tax 'fairness' reform. As well, if Ontario does experience a recession, it may prove difficult to make available substantial increases in funds without incurring a politically unacceptable deficit. The NDP is likely to be open to discussions on alternative forms of municipal financing.

The formation of a new government with a strong interest in social policy issues makes it even more necessary for Metro Council to formulate a social development strategy and meet with appropriate officials to negotiate new arrangements with the Province.

Appendix B

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The proceedings of a symposium organized by the Canadian Urban Institute for the provincial government's Office of the Greater Toronto Area. It brought together academics, researchers, and policy-makers from Chicago, Frankfurt, Melbourne, Paris, the Randstad, and San Francisco to outline the challenges faced by their urban regions. Peter Hall delivered a keynote address that set an international context for dealing with the challenges of regional planning and management in the Greater Toronto Area.

90-10 Metro in Transition

ISSN: 1183-2304 ISBN: 1-895446-18-X 80pp. \$15

Prepared for the Community Services Department, Metropolitan Toronto, this research paper examines current trends in demographics and public policy and their implications for social programs. It also examines the economic trends that will affect social policies, such as unemployment, growth in the service sector, and increasing competition within the world economy.

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